1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

177 439 [286] [323] [534] Although the Santal used to do some weaving and pottery-making, they have traditionally obtained almost everything except foodstuffs and a few forest products from neighboring tribal or Hindu peoples. Even the drums and the flutes which are so integrated in the "pleasure" complex are invariably purchased from Hindu specialists. Furthermore, elite borrowings have often become "naturalized," i.e., accepted as Santal and then widely adopted so as to close the gap. Nevertheless, emulation of Hindus did not always go unnoticed and it will be recalled that there is evidence of resistance to such Hinduization.

177 197 [601] [614] The many Hindu cognates in this text give some indication of the extent of linguistic borrowing. Only a few Santal kin terms are of non-Indo-European origin, and the system of dyadic relations among kin is very much like that of the Hindus; one of the largest clans, Hansdak', has a name clearly of Indo-European origin (*hans* = duck in Santali and Hindi), but one also notes the syncretism with the non-Indo-European [538] (*dak'* = water in Santali). Even parts of the Rāmāyaṇa are sung in Santali and on occasion the Santal are allowed to enter the tale. Considering the prevalence of "parochialization" and "universalization" in India,[20] it is possible that some of what is common to the two cultures is of Santal origin. But the heavy incorporation of vocabulary clearly of Indo-European origin suggests that the flow was largely from the Hindus to the Santal.

177 178 184 Prior to industrial employment in this century a small cultural gap separated the elite and common Santal. Though there was some differential emulation of Hinduism it was largely of isolated traits which often became naturalized, and the basic "pleasure" orientation of the Santal was hardly altered.

[20] Marriott 1955:211.

[P. 44 is blank]

585 [601] of the bridegroom they have made best-man[25]; he takes a kodali along, and the Jǫg Mạńjhi himself takes beer and leaf-cups along. The other people are only onlookers. They who have the flat basket, the sword and the bow and arrows in their hands, go dancing, until they reach the way down to the water. When they arrive there, they dance three times round. At this time the best-man digs a small basin near the water's edge, and making an opening he lets the water come into the small basin. When this is done, the Jǫg Mạńjhi plants three arrows in three corners of this basin; he winds thread five times round and puts one egg down near one of the arrows. He puts one cowry near each arrow; when he has done this, he applies sindur to the arrows. Thereupon he pours out as a libation one leaf-cup of beer to Marań buru, one leaf-cup to the deceased village headman, and one leaf-cup to Pargana haṛam (the bonga). The remaining beer they drink.

Now the bridegroom's mother, his father's younger brother's wife and his paternal aunt dance three times round the place, and the two anointing girls follow round after these, and after these two all the others there. After this she who has the bow and the arrows in her hand shoots an arrow into the water, and she who has the sword, cuts the water; thereupon the two anointing girls draw water. After this all of them return and go into the marriage-shed.

The Jǫg Mạńjhi then says to the best-man: As we dug a basin there at the water-fetching place, dig one also here in the courtyard. He does this, and the Jǫg Mạńjhi plants three arrows at the three corners; on these arrows he winds thread five times round and says: Look here, you two girls, place the two omen-pots here. They do this.

The Jǫg Mạńjhi now says: Come here you three anointing girls, and take hold of the marriage-shed post. The bridegroom they also bring there. The Jǫg Mạńjhi ties the left hand little finger of the girls fast to the Mahua post, and gives each of them in their right hand one paddy grain, and from this paddy grain he makes them remove the husk with one hand without breaking it. They do this, and the Jǫg Mạńjhi looses them. Thereupon he takes a thread five times round from his right ear and to the little toe of his right foot and twists this. Now he calls out to a young man: Do bring some mango leaves, three. When he has done this, he says to him: Now bring three tips of dhubi grass and three sun-dried rice-grain, whole, not broken ones, and wet them a little with turmeric water. The young man brings the three rice-grains that the anointing girls unhusked and the dhubi grass. The Jǫg Mạńjhi then wraps the rice-grains and the dhubi grass up in the mango leaves and ties it with the thread he has twisted on to the bridegroom's right hand.

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[601] [25] The Santal word is the same which they use for a brahmin (babṛṣ), generally a relative, especially a brother-in-law. When the bridegroom performs the binding act by applying sindur to the forehead of the girl, he rides on the shoulder of this man.

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

602

accordance with that by birth, and others do the same in accordance with relationship by marriage, without being really related. The village (artificial) relationship is only meant for behaviour and paying respect to one another. Santals address each other in accordance with the relationship they stand in to each other. In certain kinds of relationship you say "thou" to one person, in certain kinds you say "you two" to one person, and in certain kinds you say "you" (plural) to one person.

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Husband and wife, parents and children, brothers and sisters, father's elder brother and his wife on one side and nephew and niece on the other side, sons and daughters of brothers, father's sister and her husband on one side and her brother's children or her husband's nephews and nieces on the other side, the sons and daughters of a man and of his sister, father's younger brother and his wife on one side and their nephews and nieces on the other side, maternal uncle and paternal aunt on one side and their nephews and nieces on the other side, brothers of the wives of maternal and paternal uncles, children of sisters, a man's wife and his younger brothers, a man and his wife's younger brother or sister, grandparents and grandchildren, all these address each other using "thou".

Father-in-law and mother-in-law on one side and son-in-law and daughter-in-law on the other side, father-in-law's elder brother and his wife or mother-in-law's elder sister on one side and son-in-law or daughter-in-law on the other side, father-in-law's younger brother and his wife and mother-in-law's younger sister on one side and son-in-law or daughter-in-law on the other side, the brothers and sisters of the mother-in-law, brother's wife on the one side and son-in-law and daughter-in-law on the other side, elder brother of husband or wife on one side and younger sister's husband or younger brother's wife on the other, husband's or wife's elder sister on one side and younger sister's husband or younger brother's wife on the other side: all these address each other saying "you two" when they speak to one person.

The parents of married pairs with their brothers and sisters on both sides, these are all co-parents-in-law, and when they address each other, speaking to only one person they say "you" to him or her.

The relative whom you address saying "thou" will use "I" of himself or herself; the one whom you address saying "you two" will say "we two" (using the exclusive dual) of himself or herself; and the one whom you address saying "you" will speaking of himself or herself say "we" (both you and I and they and I).

When they say "you two" to one person, they include his wife or her husband; and when they say "you" to one person they include the two married children. And when they answer they in the same way also include those mentioned, without these being present. This is a greatly honouring behaviour.

3t Mukherjea O, Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42

But we should add that although in theory, Santals can marry anyone belonging to their *Bòndhu Peras*, various restrictions now hedge them round. Added to these, certain consanguinous relationships (presumably under the influence of the Hindus) have added several prohibited degrees of marriage. Thus we see that they have no cross-cousin marriage, that is, the children of a brother and sister cannot marry. The children of two sisters, although belonging to different clans cannot enter into matrimony as *Balaea* (relationship subsisting between the parents of a married couple) relationship is prohibited between brothers and sisters according to custom. The marriage of a Santal with the widow of a maternal uncle, although a *Bòndhu* woman, is unthinkable, and the Santals of Barsai, Mayurbhanj, went so far as to place the *mami* (the wife of a maternal uncle) in the category of a mother. It will thus be clear from the foregoing that while the matrimonial rules are based primarily on the basis of exogamous clans, degrees of relationship have at least their secondary importance.

Relationship Terms

We give below a list of Santal kinship terms as obtained from Mayurbhanj. The system is mainly of the type named by Morgan as 'Classificatory,' which generally recognises relationships between

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

601 groups, and uses the same terms, with exceptions, of course, for all the relatives of the same generation and sex.

LIST OF KINSHIP TERMS[1]

English terms for relationship	Santal terms for relationship	Santal terms for addressing such relatives
Father	Appa, Baba	Baba, Eh ba
Mother	Enga, Ayo	Ayo
Father's younger brother	Huḍiñ appa, Huḍiñ baba	Eh Huḍiñ baba
Father's younger brother's wife	Huḍiñ eṅga, Huḍiñ ayo	Eh Huḍiñ Ayo
Husband	Janwaen, hèrèl	Eh father of so and so
Wife	Bâhu, Era	Eh mother of so and so
A man's elder brother's wife	Hili	Eh Hili
Father's elder brother	Maraṅ appa, Maraṅ baba	Eh Maraṅ baba
Mother's elder sister's husband	Maraṅ appa, Maraṅ baba	Eh Maraṅ baba
Wife's younger sister's son	Gungu	Eh Gungu
Wife's younger sister's daughter	Gungu[2]	" "
A woman's younger sister's son or daughter	"	" "
A man's younger brother's son	"	" "
A man's younger brother's daughter	"	" "
Father's elder brother's wife	Maraṅ eṅga Maraṅ ayo	Eh Maraṅ ayo
Mother's elder sister	Maraṅ eṅga Maraṅ ayo	" "
Wife's father	Hòñhar baba	Eh Baba

1 The pronunciation is slightly different in Mayurbhanj from other Santal areas.

2 This is the same as "Goṅgo" mentioned in Dr. Campbell's Dictionary from Santali to English.

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

601 •

English terms for relationship	Santal terms for relationship	Santal terms for addressing such relatives
Husband's father	Hòñhar baba	Eh Baba
Husband's elder brother	Ba hòñhar	Eh hòñhar
Husband's mother's brother	Mama hòñhar	Eh Mama
Wife's mother's brother	„ „	„ „
Wife's elder brother	Ba hòñhar	Eh hòñhar
Wife's mother	Hòñhar	Eh Ayo
Wife's elder sister	Ajnar	Eh Dai
Woman's elder sister's husband	Teñañ	Eh Teñañ
Husband's mother	Hòñhar	Eh Ayo
Husband's elder sister	Ajnar	Eh Dai
A co-wife (elder)	Hirom	Eh Dai
Great grand-father	Dada haṛam	Eh Dada
Great grand-uncle	„ „	„ „
Elder brother	Dada, Booha	Eh Dada
Elder sister	Aji, Dai	Eh Dai
Husband's elder brother's wife	Ñatat era	
Great grand-mother	Dai Budhi	Eh Dai
Great grand-aunt	„ „	„ „
Wife's younger sister's husband	Saḍgea	Eh Babu
Man's elder sister's husband	Teñañ	Eh Teñañ
Father's father	Gòròm haṛam, Gòròm appa	Eh Gòròm baba

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

• 601

English terms for relationship	Santal terms for relationship	Santal terms for addressing such relatives
Father's uncle	Gòròm haṛam, Gòròm appa	Eh Gòròm baba
Father's mother	Gòròm Buḍhi Gòròm eṅga or Ayo	Eh Gòròm ayo or buḍhi
Mother's brother	Mama	Eh mama
Father's sister's husband	Kumaṅ	Eh Kumaṅ
Father's sister	Hatòm	Eh Hatòm
Mother's brother's wife	Hatòm, Mami	Eh Hatòm, Eh mami
Mother's younger sister	Huḍiṅ ayo, Huḍiṅ Eṅga, Kaki	Eh Huḍiṅ Ayo
Mother's younger sister's husband	Huḍiṅ baba, Kaka	Eh Huḍiṅ baba
Younger brother's wife	Kimin	Eh Bàhu
Husband's younger brother's wife	Ratat era	Eh Boi, Eh mother of so & so
Mother's father or uncle	Gòròm haṛam	Eh Gòròm baba
Mother's mother or aunt	Gòròm ayo or Gòròm buḍhi	Eh Gòròm ayo
Son's wife's father	Balaea	Ehò Bala
Daughter's husband's father	"	"
Son's wife's mother	Bala era	Ehò Bala era
Daughter's husband's mother	Bala era	Ehò Bala era
Younger brother	Bòkò	Eh Babu
Wife's younger brother's wife	Kimin	Eh Bàhu
Wife's younger brother	Erwel	Eh Babu
Elder sister's husband	Teñaṅ	Eh Teñaṅ
Elder brother's daughter	Hòpòn era Hòn era	Eh Mai

3i Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1930) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

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English terms for relationship	Santal terms for relationship	Santal mode of addressing such relatives
Daughter	Hòpòn era / Hòn era	Eh Mai
Son	Hòpòn, Hòn hèrèl	Eh Babu
Elder brother's son	" "	"
Husband's elder brother's son	" "	"
Woman's elder sister's son	" "	"
Husband's younger brother	Erwel	Eh Babu or by name
Daughter's husband	Janwane	Eh Janwane
Sister's daughter's husband	"	"
A woman's brother's son	Hòmòn	Eh Babu
Younger brother's daughter	Gungu	Eh Gungu
Younger brother's son	"	"
Husband's younger sister	Erwel	By name
Sister's daughter	Bhàgni, Bhanji	Eh Bhàgni or bhanji
Sister's son	Bhàgnà, Bhonja	Eh Bhàgnà, Eh Bhonja
Wife's brother's daughter	Kumàn	Eh Kumàn
Husband's sister's daughter	Bhanji, Bhàgni	Eh Bhanji, Eh Bhàgni
Sister's son's wife	Bhàgni bàhu	Eh Bàhu
Child's or nephew's son	Gòròm kora	Eh Gòròm kora
Child's or nephew's daughter	" kuri	" kuri

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42

602 into the tabooed opposite pole, with a corresponding prohibition on the bridegroom's father and the bride's mother (Santali *Bala*).

607 *Relations who can joke with one another*

As the husband's elder brother is the subject of a rigid taboo to a Santal woman, repression in one [601] way leads to a corresponding freedom with the husband's younger brother, who is considered to be a joking relation (*Ḍhàulià*). Dr. Campbell in commenting on *Ḍhàulià Sàgài* (relationship between brother-in-law and sister-in-law) writes, "Great freedom is accorded to these in their intercourse with each other, and what is regarded as criminal intercourse in others is propriety with them." And Mr. Man remarks about, "the alarming familiarities," a lad took with his future sister-in-law at a marriage ceremony he had witnessed.

603 607 Relationships of such a kind, but not of such a degree, subsist between a grand-father and his grand-children, between a woman and her elder sister's husband, among the brothers and sisters of a bride and a bridegroom, between the younger brother of the husband and the sister of his wife and the brothers of both the married couple. The Santal society permits them to crack jokes with one another, to tease and play pranks mutually in the enjoyment of their company.

3r Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1902
AW42 Santal AW42

576 sufficient respect to superiors or to show a corresponding affection to juniors, as would be proper in a common fraternity in the clan. Thus a younger man addresses an elder as 'uncle' and a younger girl will choose to call a senior woman as 'elder sister.'

iii. Between mothers

572 An interesting tie is knit by Santal society between the mothers of an equal number of children. Ceremonials are gone through to establish such forms of friendship, called *Sàika*, when presents are mutually exchanged and each of the friends treats some guests at feasts as a mark of the occasion.

Jt Mukherjea O, Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

Mare," played with a wealth of detail as noted by Father Elwin in his "The Baiga." The juvenile games, indulged in by Santal children, resulting in sex-contacts and childish coitus are done openly. But, as Santal parents interfere in such games and chide the children while playing sexually, coitus is sometimes secretly indulged in. So it is that some Santals told us that children play sex-games privately and not before public gaze.

We should note that there are further equipments to the phallic knowledge of the Santals other than occasional glimpses of parental coitus or coitus generally seen after the Lagre*n* dances. A well-informed Santal told us that *Gòṛòmbaba*, (the grandfather of Santal children), the *teñae* (brother-in-law) or the Kumañ (father's sister's husband) explain the mysteries of sex to children of four to five years of age with occasional demonstration of process how to indulge in coitus. There are various other ways of initiation. Boys and girls sometimes understand the mysteries on mutual consultation about the supreme fact. Sometimes, old women teach the art to young girls and elder men to inexperienced lads. Even elder women, according to reliable testimony, belonging of course to the *rànḍi* (widow) and *chardi* (divorcee) class, teach the art to boys of 14 and 15. But to sexually inexperienced boys, the *guru* par excellence is the *bili* (elder brother's wife) with

Jt Mukherjea O. Y-4, 5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

whom sexual intimacies are permitted or connived at in Santal customary law. There is a folk-song (quoted later) of the Santals, a Bir Sereñ (song during hunting) in which such a sister-in-law is explaining the mysteries of cohabitation to her novice husband's younger brother. Another song, also referring to intimacies with the elder brother's wife, perhaps records a second stage when the lad has become emboldened:

Koṛa: Dèsè hili ho koṛam toa te,
Tidò hili ho rakap' tiñ me.
Kuṛi: Tidò babu jaiñ rakap' ketamge
Pale babu ja sakòm saḍe tiñ,
Pale babu ja paini saḍe tiñ,
Pale babu ja dadam babu ja
Dadam babu jae dhòra laṅ.
Koṛa: Bàndi huṛu baṅse hili ho
Saika huṛu baṅse hili ho
Dadaiñ hili ho chindoè ñelà ho.

(Translated)

Boy: O, sister-in-law, do please put my hand on your breasts (on the chest) O, sister-in-law (please) raise my hand.

Girl: O boy, I could put your hand on my breasts,
But should my bracelets ring by chance?
If my anklets ring by chance?
If by chance, your brother catches us, O boy!
If by chance, your brother catches us?
(What will happen then?)

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

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implements, and sets up a house for himself and his wife. This sort of son-in-law is called Ghardi-jawae.

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Family not Polyandrous: In the individual family the father is the *pater familias*, whereas in the other type the grandfather or any senior male member is head in every respect; other members, however senior they may be in age, must remain under his authority. In the Santal family all the brothers marry different wives (monogamous) which can be verified from the genealogical trees of the different Santal families. It is not like the normal Toda family which consists of a number of brothers—brothers with one wife, and each house belongs to a family of this kind and is handed on to the children of the brothers (Rivers' Toda, p. 559).

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There are no different terms of kinship for the father, father's brother, as also for mother and father's brother's wife which would not have happened, if there had been polyandry—

(Toda)	Father	... ...	In (ala).
,,	Father's brother	...	,,
,,	Mother	...	Av (ava)
,,	Father's brother's wife	...	,,

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A consideration of terms of kinship of the Santals side by side with that of the Todas shows that the terminology of the Santals is cast in the same way as amongst the Todas. The terms for father and the father's brother are the same, the only difference being marked by the addition of descriptive words like Gongo (elder) or Hopen (younger); so also the terms for

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•[601] the father's brother's wife and of the mother are the same, only modified by the addition of descriptive terms, younger and elder. This might argue in favour of the existence of polyandry amongst the Santals. But the constitution of the family is entirely different. Amongst the Santals as distinguished from the
595 Todas each brother has a separate wife who is
171 always recognised as the partner of that brother only
851 and does not belong to all the brothers as amongst the Todas. When the child is born, there is no question of any difficulty of identity of the biological father, who is bound by individual marriage ties to its mother. This is quite different amongst the Todas, where a sociological fatherhood has to be determined by the bow and arrow ceremony of generally the eldest brother in the family, when a woman is with child. This sociologically recognised father may be quite different and is often so from the real biological father. But amongst the Santals the sociological and biological father is always
591 the same except in cases of adultery. Amongst the
171 non-fraternally polyandrous Nairs again, there was a custom of several husbands visiting a common wife in turn and leaving shoes, etc., outside for prohibiting the entry of other husbands. There is no trace of any such custom nor any matriarchy amongst the Santals, which would have been necessary for such a system of
587 non-fraternal polyandry. True, there is the custom of the junior levirate by which the husband's younger brother has marital right over the elder brother's widow. But this marriage can only take place when the elder brother is dead and there is no question of the younger brother marrying the elder brother's wife while he is
000 alive. Though there is a jocose relationship between

4; Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1945) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

Though there is a jocose relationship between them, the elder brother's wife is respected as mother. So also, the elder brother avoids even touching the shadow of the younger brother's wife, not to speak of her being regarded as the property of the elder brother. There is also the custom of sorprate, by which a wife's younger sister could be married by the husband. But the wife's sister is generally and almost universally married to another. So it is possible that the identity of the terms of kinship for the father and father's brothers may be explained by the levirate. In such a case the father's brother's wife would be a second mother and so the terms of kinship for the mother and father's brother's wife, would be the same. Besides, the function of the father's elder brother's wife in a joint family system is more or less that of a supervising mother; so this also might explain the identity of the kinship terms.

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(Santal)	Father	... Apum, now also baba.
,,	Father's brother	... (Gongo) Apum (elder), (Hopen) Apum (younger).
,,	Mother	... (Ayo Gongo).
,,	Father's brother's Wife.	... (Gongo) Ayo (elder), (Hopen) Ayo (younger).

But the Santal family though apparently the same in structure of kinship terminology is quite different from the polyandrous Toda family. Comparing the families of these tribes it can be seen clearly that polyandry is not present amongst the Santals. Mr. Craven and the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud have stated in J.A.S.B., Part 3,1903, pp. 88-90, that fraternal

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St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

APPENDIX A

SANTAL KINSHIP TERMS

601.
[184]

THIS list of terms is added in the hope that it will assist in the comparative study of Indian kinship terms that may one day be undertaken. A list of terms current among the Santals of Mayurbhanj is found in *The Santals*, by Charulal Mukherjea, and reveals no significant differences. Many of the terms in use among the Santals are the same as those found among the Bengalis.

(1) *Speaker's own Generation*

Brother	Boeha
Elder brother	Dada
Eldest brother	Maraṅ dada
Younger brother	Bokoṅ
Youngest brother	Huḍiṅ utaṛic' bokoṅ
Sister	Misera
Elder sister	Ajiṅ
Younger sister	Bokoṅ kuṛi
Mother's elder brother's daughter	Mamoṅ hopon era
Mother's younger brother's daughter	Mamoṅ hopon era
Father's elder brother's son	Goṅgoṅ hopon
Father's younger brother's son	Kakaṅ hopon
Father's elder sister's son	Hatomiṅ hopon
Father's younger sister's son	Hatomiṅ hopon
Mother's sister's son	Kaṇkiṅ hopon
Mother's brother's son	Mamoṅ hopon
Husband's elder sister's husband	Ajnariṅ jàwàĕ
Husband's elder brother	Barhoṅhar
Husband's younger brother	Erweliṅ koṛa
Wife's elder sister's husband	Saḍge
Husband's younger sister's husband	Erweliṅ koṛa jàwàĕ
(Man's) Elder sister's husband	Teñaṅ
(Woman's) Elder sister's husband	Teñaṅ
(Man's) Younger sister's husband	Bokoṅ kuṛi jàwàĕ
(Woman's) Younger sister's husband	Bokoṅ kuṛi jàwàĕ
Wife's younger brother	Erweliṅ koṛa
Wife's elder brother	Barhoṅhar
Husband	Jàwàĕ Herel

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

601

Son's wife's father	Balaṅ
Daughter's husband's father	Balaṅ
Wife	Oṛak' gomkeṅ
Husband's elder brother's wife	Ñatañ era
Husband's elder sister	Ajnar
Husband's younger sister	Erweliṅ kuṛi
Husband's younger brother's wife	Huḍiṅ ñatañ era
Wife's elder brother's wife	Barhoṅhariṅ renic'
Wife's younger brother's wife	Erweliṅ oṛak' gomket'
Father's elder sister's daughter	Hatomiṅ hoponera
Father's younger sister's daughter	Hatomiṅ hoponera
Father's elder brother's daughter	Goṅgoṅ hoponera
Father's younger brother's daughter	Kakañ hoponera
Wife's elder sister	Ajnar
Wife's younger sister	Erweliṅ kuṛi
Younger brother's wife	Bokoṅ baḷhu
Elder brother's wife	Hiliṅ
Son's wife's mother	Balaṅ era
Daughter's husband's mother	Balaṅ era

(2) *Generation next above Speaker*

Father	Apun
Father's elder brother	Goṅgoṅ
Mother's elder sister's husband	Goṅgoṅ
Father's younger brother	Kakañ
Stepfather	Kakañ apuṅ
Mother's younger sister's husband	Kakañ
Father's elder sister's husband	Kumaṅ
Father's younger sister's husband	Kumaṅ
Mother's elder brother	Mama
Mother's younger brother	Mama
Husband's father	Hoṅhar
Wife's father	Hoṅhar Ñaihar
Mother	Enga Ayo Go
Stepmother	Kaḳiṅ eṅga
Father's elder brother's wife	Goṅgo ayo Maraṅ ayo
Father's younger brother's wife	Kaḳi Huḍiṅ ayo

St Culshaw M-5 (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

601.

Mother's elder sister	Gonḡoṅ era ayo
Mother's brother's wife	Mąmi hatom
Mother's younger sister	Kąki
Father's sister	Hatom
Wife's mother	Hanhar
Husband's mother	Hanhar

(3) *Generation next below Speaker*

Son	Hopon Babu Beṭa
Elder brother's son	Bhacaṅ
Wife's elder sister's son	Gonḡoṅ era hopon
Husband's elder brother's son	Bhacaṅ
Wife's younger sister's son	Erweliṅ kuṛi hopom
Husband's younger brother's son	Erweliṅ koṛa hopon Bhacaṅ
Husband's younger sister's son	Erweliṅ kuṛi hopon
Woman's elder brother's son	Homoniṅ
Woman's younger brother's son	Homoniṅ
Man's elder sister's son	Bhagnaṅ
Man's younger sister's son	Bhagnaṅ
Husband's younger sister's son	Bhagnaṅ
Wife's younger brother's son	Erweliṅ koṛa hopon
Woman's elder sister's son	Ajiṅ hopon
Daughter's husband	Jawāĕ gomkeṅ
Man's elder brother's daughter	Bhacaṅ kuṛi
Husband's elder brother's daughter	Bhacaṅ kuṛi
Woman's elder brother's daughter	Homoniṅ kuṛi
Husband's younger sister's daughter	Erweliṅ kuṛi hopon
Man's elder sister's daughter	Bhagnaṅ kuṛi
Woman's elder sister's daughter	Ajiṅ hoponera
Husband's elder sister's daughter	Ajnariṅ hoponera
Man's younger sister's daughter	Bhagnaṅ kuṛi
Wife's elder brother's daughter	Barhoṅhariṅ hoponera
Wife's younger brother's daughter	Erweliṅ koṛa hoponera
Woman's younger sister's daughter	Bokoṅ kuṛi hoponera
Man's younger brother's daughter	Bhacaṅ kuṛi
Wife's younger sister's daughter	Erweliṅ kuṛi hoponera
Son's wife	Kiminiṅ
Daughter	Hoponera

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

601 (4) *Third Generation from Speaker*

The characteristic name for this relationship is the word *goṛom*, which is used both for grandchildren and for grandparents, with the addition of descriptive adjectives drawn from the table of relationships to define the relationship more precisely.

Examples

Son's daughter's husband	Goṛomiṅ kuṛi jāwāē
Sister's son's son	Ạjiṅ goṛomtet'